

looking ahead

. . . . A monthly report by the National Planning Association on forward-looking policy planning and research—announced, underway, and completed—of importance to the nation's future

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Total Defense or Total War?

by Richard Bolling

Partial text of the speech delivered by Richard Bolling, Representative in Congress, Fifth District of Missouri, to the December 14 luncheon session of the Twentieth Anniversary Joint Meeting of the National Planning Association, held in Washington, D. C. on December 13 and 14, 1954.

THERE are many ways to lose freedom. It need not disappear in a cataclysmic clap of atomic thunder. It may. But its strength may also be destroyed by the less dramatic destruction of peoples, seduced or conquered by more conventional totalitarian tactics.

From one point of view, the point of view of previous poorer performances, it may be said that the democracies have done well in their efforts since 1946. From another point of view, that of the future, it may be that we have only done well enough to prolong a process leading to an ultimate defeat. That we have not yet arrived at the point where defeat is inevitable is my conviction. I am equally convinced that unless we do better than we have in preparing our defenses our defeat may soon become inevitable.

Some of us believe that one of the primary reasons for that condition is the fact that we have never succeeded in arriving at a balanced and whole policy of advancing democracy, or, if you insist, of defense against Communist aggression. Today there must be not a foreign policy, a defense policy and a domestic policy, but one policy which includes all these and is the policy.

Most of us here will agree that our efforts beyond our shores depend on a growing domestic economy. Without an effective foreign policy to maintain and strengthen the coalition of democratic peoples, an air-atomic striking force twice as large as necessary would not save us. Without adequate strength in the more familiar weapons of warfare there can be no effective policy to prevent the gradual destruction of the nations which seek to practice democracy but are not yet in a position to defend their sovereignty. Without the best in early warning, continental air defense and civil defense, an enemy is actually encouraged to have hope of success in an all out stab-to-the-heart attack.

There have been too many special pleaders, too many oversimplifications, too many exaggerations by the proponents of one

Special Supplement to
"LOOKING AHEAD"

• The Twentieth Anniversary Joint Meeting of the National Planning Association, held in Washington, D. C., December 13 and 14 will be covered in our first special supplement of "Looking Ahead," a 20-page illustrated edition, to be released in March.

• This special supplemental issue will not supplant the regular March edition, which will come out earlier than the special issue, but will concentrate on the two-day program which produced three Joint Board and Committee Statements; featured luncheon and dinner addresses by Gabriel Hauge, Richard Bolling, and Walter Bedell Smith; the first meeting of NPA's National Council; and the award of NPA's Gold Medal to William S. Paley, Chairman of the Board of Columbia Broadcasting System, and Jean Monnet, President, High Authority, European Community for Coal and Steel.



element or another of the whole defense we need. No one method of defense will succeed without the others. And we need not choose from among necessities because we think we cannot afford all.

But let us assume, and we are supported by the excellent NPA study of Gerhard Colm, that the American economy can afford much larger expenditures for total defense than those currently being made or planned.

IT WAS with these points in mind that early last summer I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 229 which provides for a study by a special Joint Committee of Congress into the economics of Atomic Defense. Frankly, no one knows whether effective dispersion of people and plants is practicable or wise. I strongly suspect that it is. I even suspect that effective dispersion can tip the balance to peace. But I do not know this for the simple reason that the facts do not exist upon which to base an intelligent decision. But let us also assume that in 15 years or less the Communist bloc will possess large numbers of guided missiles with atomic and hydrogen warheads and speeds of thousands of miles an hour and that there will be no effective way of preventing most of such missiles from arriving in the vicinity of their targets.

Presumably if there were no limits to the amount of money and effort we could expend and if we did not care what happened to our free society, the decision to disperse effectively would have been made and implemented long ago. But since there are limits on our resources, and our effort is directed to strengthening a free society, there are preliminary questions which must be answered before we can intelligently answer the larger question.

But, you say, we do have a governmental policy of dispersal promulgated years ago. Many plants have been dispersed. Fine, but the indications are that the choicest target areas have actually grown more attractive. Apparently as one man moved out of an area, more than one moved in. If one factory dispersed, larger ones did not. Our efforts have not been adequate to achieve our purpose. The problem of concentration still remains.

Here are a few of the questions which must be asked. If today much of our population and industrial strength is concentrated in 70 urban areas, each a prize target for enemy attack, how much safer can we make ourselves by reducing our concentration by 100 percent? By 500 percent? How much more effort would it

take for an enemy to effectively attack 350 urban areas rather than just 70? Would the problems of our own military defense be increased five times also? What would such a program do toward making civil defense easier and more effective? Or would dispersion in fact make civil defense harder? Or does the dreadful area of radiation contamination which an H-bomb explosion creates make the whole problem of civil defense impossible?

LET US SUPPOSE the answers to all these questions demonstrated that selective dispersion would be very valuable as a defense measure--as a measure of defense so effective as to play a real part in deterring an enemy, willing to use surprise attack, from launching such an attack. Then we must answer the even more difficult questions of how to accomplish dispersion.

What would be the cost of this massive task? How long would it take? Who would pay for it? By what means? How could it be accomplished without using the methods of authoritarianism? In other words, how could the people in a society in which each individual home owner and entrepreneur has and must have a large area of free choice, be persuaded that it is in their interests to participate in dispersal--even at some inconvenience or perhaps personal or corporate cost? And, of course, the people's participation would include paying for dispersion personally or through some level of government.

Unless I am in error, well-founded answers to most of these questions are not available. In part, no doubt, because of the swiftness of events. We read that the last hydrogen bomb greatly exceeded in yield even the expectations of its inventors. It is perhaps not much of an exaggeration to say that the Age-of-Fusion is as different from the Age-of-Fission as the latter is from that ancient day, ten years ago, when all man had was blockbusters. Our minds, our imaginations lag behind. And this lag, of course, may be more fatal to mankind than radiation.

THERE is no reason why we should not have the answers to all the questions which must be answered before we can decide the big question of the desirability and the feasibility of dispersion. We do not have them because too few of us have asked the questions and demanded answers. I believe that we have the ingenuity to devise means of encouraging the people in our mixed economy to disperse

their homes and their places of business without spending more money than we can afford and without significantly decreasing the number or character of our free choices. I believe that dispersion can significantly decrease our vulnerability to surprise attack by making the chances of success in such an attack much less likely. But in this case, much more than the belief of a few is needed. We must have facts and conclusions. It is not that these facts are so difficult to obtain. Rather we have not bothered to get them. Certainly, it need not cost as much as even one atomic bomber to determine the answers to these questions and the others we need to answer. Should the answers add up to the conclusion that dispersion would not be practicable or effective, that, in itself, would be important and valuable. But should the studies reveal that dispersion can be effective and that ways can be devised to achieve effective dispersion without undue strain either on our economy or our institutions, then the cause of peace might be advanced appreciably.

In our ignorance there is no bliss. Freedom cannot afford such ignorance.

I care not at all whether these studies are made by Congress, the Executive, or private groups. I care only that we use to the fullest that great advantage which democracy has over totalitarianism--its ability, at least in greater measure, to make decisions based on facts and to constantly seek for more facts and more knowledge. Our discipline is that of self. We have nothing to be proud of in the history of our attempt as a people to pretend that first the A-bomb and now the H-bomb do not exist. We must face the facts but first we must know them. ◀

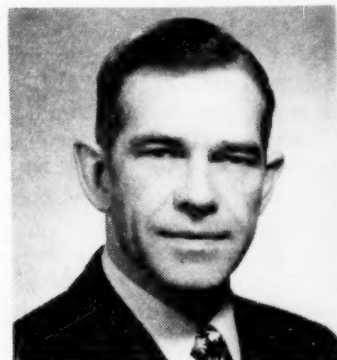
Heads American Economic Association

JOHN D. BLACK, professor of Agricultural Economics at Harvard University has been elected President of the American Economic Association. Dr. Black is a long-time member of NPA's Labor Committee and was awarded NPA's Certificate of Extraordinary Achievement in 1951.

Corporate Giving

READERS of "The Manual of Corporate Giving" (NPA 1952) will be interested in the article "Corporate Giving, Sensitive Tool of PR," in the November 1954 issue of the Public Relations Journal which describes the experiences of the Standard Oil Company of California in this field.

—the people of NPA—



Arnold
S.
Zander

Arnold S. Zander, Secretary of NPA's Board of Trustees and member of its Labor Committee, is International President of a labor association he helped organize--the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFL. Born in Two Rivers, Wisconsin, Mr. Zander worked his way through the University of Wisconsin where he obtained three degrees--B.S. in civil engineering, 1923; M.A. in city planning, 1929; Ph.D. in public administration, 1931. He went to work for the Wisconsin State Bureau of Personnel in 1930. Later, as principal personnel examiner with the opportunity to observe employment conditions in the state service, he organized the Wisconsin State Employees Association. In 1936 he obtained a charter for A.F.S.C.M.E. and was elected to the position he still holds as its president. Mr. Zander's range of activities in the labor field has carried him to Paris for the International Labor Organization conference in 1945; to Argentina as chairman of an AFL delegation invited by that country to study its labor, economic, and political conditions, 1947; to England as AFL's fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, 1947; to public employee conventions in Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Switzerland, 1949; and to Brussels as vice president of the World Congress of Professional Employees, 1951. He is also the American member of the executive committee of the International Federation of Unions of Employees in Public and Civil Services, London. Other interests include membership in the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, National Public Housing Conference, National Municipal League, Industrial Relations Research Association, and American Political Science Association.

U.S. Tariff Policy

REDUCING tariffs gradually and selectively along general lines proposed by the President will strengthen this country's economy and improve her international relations. So concludes a statement on "United States Tariff Policy" recently issued by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development.

Most domestic producers, says the CED statement, "will be affected little if at all by a gradual reduction in tariffs." Instead of having adverse effects on our economy, "tariff liberalization, by increasing imports, will permit other countries to buy more from us, particularly in the longer run." This is especially true of the great bulk of American manufacturers—of those products produced in the United States by highly mechanized, mass production techniques. As the output of these industries rises and is exchanged for additional imports, "the overall efficiency of the American economy tends to increase. In general increased imports at costs and prices below those involved in domestic production raise our standard of living."

In the case of handicraft-type products and a few agricultural commodities where even moderate tariff reductions would have a serious impact, the CED statement recommends a doubly cautious and gradual policy of lowering tariffs. It defines an industry as operating under hardship conditions when "tariff cuts result in a substantial reduction in output and employment, and where alternative employment is not available for the manpower and facilities made idle."

INDUSTRIES essential to national security which should be protected against damage from import competition as tariffs are reduced, are defined by the CED statement as only those whose "production or productive capacity . . . would be indispensable in time of national emergency, and which could not readily be built up after the onset of the emergency." In any case, continued tariff protection may not be the best method for safeguarding essential industries. Standby military contracts, direct subsidies, or Government stockpiling may be preferable.

Equally important in weighing the need for tariff liberalization is its effect on the economic strength of our allies. "Their economic strength," the statement makes clear, "affects their military strength and their political stability—in short their values as free-world allies. . . . Low tariffs

will help to strengthen the community of economic and political interest between our allies and ourselves—to increase their sense of solidarity with the United States."

(From: Committee for Economic Development, 444 Madison Ave., N. Y. 22. 1954. 38 pp. Free.)

The Need For Further Budget Reform

PROPOSALS aimed at improving the Federal Budget were made and acted upon at the recent NPA Joint Meeting in December 1954. A joint statement recommending the "formulation of budgetary and fiscal policies in a longer range economic perspective" was adopted unanimously by the Board and Committee members present at the meeting. The statement reviews the various proposals for budget reform which have been made to promote economic growth and counteract economic fluctuations. It concludes with the following recommendations for further budget reform:

- In line with the intent of the Employment Act of 1946, each Economic Report should contain an economic projection (including estimates concerning the government sector of the economy) covering a number of years and showing where imbalances might be likely to develop in the national economy. Correspondingly, each Budget Message should contain a budget outlook covering the same number of years and demonstrating the changes in expenditures, revenue, and debt policies which would be needed to meet the government's responsibilities under the Employment Act and to promote a better balance in the economy.

These estimates would permit deliberation of budget policy for the ensuing year in the longer range perspective of several years, and would help ensure that economic trends were taken into consideration. Experience with informal economic and budget projections made within and without the government justifies the proposal that they be made a regular feature of official documents.

Consideration of the budget in a longer range perspective might make possible a greater steadiness in expenditure and tax policies. However, it should be recognized that changes in tax legislation or expenditure programs might be necessary in order to counteract business fluctuations and, further, that such changes should be adopted at early stages of fluctuations in order to forestall as far as pos-

sible an inflationary or deflationary spiral.

- In order to increase the flexibility of the budget it would be desirable for Congress to make some appropriations for nonroutine programs (mainly public works) without stringent limitation on the time during which such appropriations should remain available for spending. The Executive would be authorized to speed up or slow down various projects in this category depending on the economic outlook. An improved coordination between Federal, state, and local policies is needed in order to develop a national public works policy which embraces activities of all levels of government.

- A serious deficiency in the budget process is that, at the present time, no congressional committee gives specific consideration to the budget as a whole. This function should be given to the Joint Committee on the Economic Report which, under its present assignment, has to concern itself with budgetary and fiscal policies anyway. It might then be renamed the Joint Committee on Economic and Fiscal Policy. The Joint Committee would then concern itself with the over-all aspects of the financial program of the government. It would examine the long term budget outlook proposed by the President in his Budget Message and also any changes in expenditure programs and tax legislation recommended by the President for the purpose of counteracting business fluctuations. The Joint Committee could either approve or modify the President's recommendations or recommend changes of its own in existing programs.

- It would be desirable if the Congress would adopt each year a concurrent resolution which would outline the broad order of magnitude of the budget over a period of years and the recommended principles of financing. Such a resolution could state that there should be an excess of revenue over total expenditures, or a balance, or that a part of the expenditures should be financed by loans. It could also set forth the changes in the longer range program, if any, which are considered necessary for the purpose of counteracting business fluctuations.

Although such a resolution could not deprive Congress of its power to make changes in expenditure programs and tax laws at any time and independently of each other, it would encourage a determination of budget policy in line with economic requirements and at the same time maintain the awareness of the relationship between changes in expenditures and changes in taxation or debt policies.

These recommendations will be included in an NPA planning pamphlet "The Federal Budget and the National Economy" to be issued soon. ◀

Distribution of Federal Funds for Science

FEDERAL RESEARCH and development activities have levelled off at the \$2 billion mark after almost a 20-fold increase since 1940, according to a report of the National Science Foundation. But the proportion of research and development expenditures to total budget expenditures continues to rise.

By far the lion's share of funds for scientific research and development goes to the Defense Department--about three-fourths of the total. The Atomic Energy Commission administers an additional 12 to 13 percent. In all, seven agencies account for over 98 percent of the funds.

The physical sciences claimed between 86 and 88 percent of new contracts during 1953, 1954, and 1955; the life sciences (biology, medicine, agriculture) took 10 to 12 percent; and the social sciences used up the remaining 2 percent.

As for the division of funds between basic and applied work, a very small shift in emphasis is revealed. Funds for applied research and development will decline from \$1.8 billion in 1953 to \$1.7 billion in 1955, while funds for basic research are being increased in the same period from \$116 million to \$131 million. ("Federal Funds for Science, III." From: Supt. of Doc., Wash. 25. 1954. 42 pp. 30¢)

Foreign Trade in the Americas

A NEW statistical series intended to provide more pertinent information about the post-war trade of the American states is being prepared by the Pan American Union. When completed, the trade figures for each of the American states will have been reclassified into the framework of the Standard International Trade Classification. The first bulletin in the series covers the foreign trade of Haiti from 1945 to 1950; subsequent publications will include other Latin American countries and eventually the United States and Canada. ("Foreign Trade of Haiti." From: Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, Pan American Union, Wash. 1954. 153 pp. \$2)

The Rising Tide of Population

A "Looking Ahead" survey of the latest findings on world population and food supply as reported by the United Nations, Political and Economic Planning (an English organization similar to NPA), and Harrison Brown, California Institute of Technology.

THE GREATEST population expansion since the origin of mankind is now taking place. In spite of two world wars, an increase in population of 846 million persons was recorded for the first half of the twentieth century. If current trends since 1950 continue, world population will rise by about one and one-half billion persons in another generation—an increase almost as great as the total increase of the human race prior to 1900.

According to Political and Economic Planning of England (PEP), the present "increase in human mouths to feed...is much greater in absolute numbers, much faster proportionately and much more serious as a political, social, and economic problem than anything the world has yet known."

The Problem of Food

THE EXPERTS agree on two fundamental points: World population is surging upward at an unprecedented rate; and is creating the immediate, vital problem of enough food to keep pace with the increasing population.

This would be "no easy problem," says PEP, even "if all mankind were at present adequately nourished"—which it is not. The UN's Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimates that about two-thirds of the world's peoples are not getting sufficient food to maintain full health and activity. "There appears to be little likelihood," says Harrison Brown in his book, "that starvation can be eliminated in the world for many decades to come."

World population is growing at an annual rate of 1.3 percent (70,000 more people every 24 hours) and world food production is increasing at about 2 percent yearly. But the annual "minimum" rise in food production necessary to achieve even a limited improvement in nutrition has been estimated by FAO as 2.3 and preferably 3.3 percent.

The seemingly favorable 2 percent annual increase in food production obscures the gravity of the food situation. For example, it is not known how long this increase can be maintained since it is only recently that such a high average rate has been achieved.

Moreover, the expansion has not been uni-

form throughout the world. Where food needs are most pressing—in the lesser developed countries—production rates are lagging. PEP reports that "much of the increase in food production is in countries which already have enough to eat but are not considerable exporters, while much of the population increase is concentrated in regions which are not achieving corresponding increases in food production, nor able to import more food and which were already among those having the highest proportions and numbers of underfed people."

Birth and Death Rates

THE PHENOMENAL increase in the world's population has resulted primarily from mankind's increasing skill in "death control"—the prevention of premature death, especially among the young and middle-aged.

Higher living standards and improved medical techniques during the past 250 years are responsible for the marked decline in mortality rates in the United States, Northern and Western Europe, and in those places where European peoples predominate. With low birth rates balancing low death rates, these areas are close to population stabilization.

However, the United States and a few other countries in the group are currently undergoing a sharp expansion in their population because of an upsurge in birth rates. (There are 10 million more Americans since 1950 making the U.S. rate of increase higher than India's!) But the reports indicate that the developed areas contain such a small part of total world population that even an estimated 20-30 percent rise in their populations in the next 50 years will contribute little to the problem of future worldwide population pressures.

A second group of countries, including the Soviet Union and Japan, are experiencing a rapid decline in mortality rates and some falling-off in their birth rates. Because mortality rates are declining so rapidly, these areas are expected to make a substantial contribution to the projected increase in world population.

It is the lesser developed areas of the world, however, that are contributing most to the

great expansion in population. Death rates have come down considerably in many countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa, but birthrates--unlike those in the more economically and socially advanced countries--have remained high. The result is a rapid upswing in population.

Mexico's experience is typical: Mortality rates there dropped from 26 per 1,000 in 1932 to 17 per 1,000 in 1948 while births continued at 45 per 1,000. The annual rate of population increase jumped from 1.7 to 2.8 percent during this short period.

Relatively stable populations still exist in some of the world's most backward areas. Death rates due to poverty and ignorance have not been cut, and tend to counterbalance high birthrates. Undoubtedly these conditions will change as economic and social developments introduce "death control" to these areas.

No Easy Solution

TECHNICALLY, the reports agree, the world's untapped resources could sustain a great increase of human beings for a long time to come. For example, over one billion additional acres of tropical and northern soils could be brought under cultivation; irrigation could be expanded in desert regions; and algae farms and yeast factories could be developed.

Though technically possible, such developments would undoubtedly meet with a number of practical obstacles. It has been difficult even to accomplish widespread adoption of such proven agricultural techniques as scientific breeding, use of fertilizer and chemicals, and protection against insects and disease. These practices require considerable amounts of skilled labor and capital which the countries most desperately in need of increased food production do not possess.

Noneconomic factors also are involved. According to the UN report, "Ignorance, greed, strife, superstition, and blind adherence to tradition prevent men from accomplishing the works which are in their power, even though the alternative may be misery and starvation."

Many Unanswered Questions

MANY QUESTIONS raised in the reports have not been touched upon in this brief summary. If food production rises, will the increase be offset by an increasing rise in population? What about the eventual depletion of currently available energy resources and raw materials which are essential for an adequate food supply? Can even the most energetic

of the lesser developed countries accomplish much in the way of greater production without far more outside aid?

The three reports agree on many points regarding the future course of population and the food supply, but have no ready answers to the questions raised. They recognize that statistical information on the trend of death and birth rates and other related factors is still sketchy for some parts of the globe. However, they are unanimous in the opinion that the problem, as indicated by existing figures, should not be treated with complacency.

(United Nations. "The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends." From: *International Documents Service*, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, N. Y. 27. 1954. 404 pp. \$4; "World Population and Resources" and "Controlling Human Numbers." From: *Political & Economic Planning*, 16 Queen Anne's Gate, London, England. 1954. 27 pp. each; Harrison Brown, "The Challenge of Man's Future." From: *The Viking Press*, 18 E. 48 St., N. Y. 17. 1954. 290 pp. \$3.75) ◀

How Good Are Our Economic Statistics?

A THOROUGH REVIEW of current statistics in the fields of savings, business inventories, and business and consumer expectations is being undertaken by the Federal Reserve Board at the request of the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report.

Five task groups, composed of independent experts from business and academic circles, have been retained by the Federal Reserve to conduct the necessary investigations. Dr. Raymond Goldsmith of the National Bureau of Economic Research heads the committee evaluating savings statistics; Dr. J. Frederick Dewhurst of the Twentieth Century Fund, the committee on inventory statistics; Prof. Arthur Smithies of Harvard University, the committee on consumer expectations; Dr. Martin Gainsbrugh of the National Industrial Conference Board, the committee on general business expectations; and Dr. George Terborgh of the Machinery & Allied Products Institute, the committee on plant and equipment expenditure expectations.

The Subcommittee on Economic Statistics has requested that the final reports be in by June 1955, but as the Chairman of the Federal



Reserve Board pointed out, postponements maybe necessary to ensure completeness and accuracy in the reports. ◀

On "Looking Ahead"

THE PURPOSE of NPA's publication, "Looking Ahead," is to provide a thread of continuity for our membership and friends in the form of a brief monthly report on activities of economic and social import for the future, and new approaches to fresh thinking on the major problems that lie ahead. Our readers, who are representative of leaders in agriculture, business, labor, and the professions, are busy people, and accordingly the contents of "Looking Ahead" are deliberately concise and factual. From time to time personal items about those who have contributed their abilities and time so generously to the Board and Committee work of NPA will be included.

While it is difficult within the eight-page

The first meeting of the NPA Policy Committee on Non-military Use of Atomic Energy in New York City. Standing left to right: J. Carlton Ward, Jr.; Lauren K. Soth; J. A. Brownlow; Perry Teitelbaum; Sumner T. Pike. Seated left to right: Murray D. Lincoln; Marion H. Hedges; Stacy May; Sam J. Van Hyning; Sam Schurr; Gilbert W. Chapman; John Miller; Ralph J. Watkins; Gerhard Colm; Philip Mullenbach; Henry D. Smyth; Philip Sporn; George N. Perazich.

boundary of "Looking Ahead" to include in any single issue the assortment of items that will have something of special interest for every one, this brevity has the advantage of presenting the essential highlights. We feel that all our readers are interested in the themes of the future, in looking ahead. It is this theme of the future that provides an important element of common interest for those who believe in the practicality of the joint approach of the National Planning Association toward private planning for a greater democracy. ◀

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